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ABSTRACT

Presented here is a view of early childhood education as a process reflecting social principles and practices which have evolved over time. It is argued that society first showed concern for the physical well-being of its young by protecting newborns from their own parents. Secondly, society became concerned with children's training and, later, with intellectual and moral development. Society's third concern was for the emotional and social development of its young, an interest that became apparent during the child study movement of the early 1900s. It is further argued that, generally, these distinct concerns reflect, respectively, the programs presently called childcare, kindergarten, and nursery school. The main portion of this text focuses on sponsorship, philosophical roots, and scope of services in these three types of programs, emphasizing the most influential people and events in the history of early childhood education. A flowchart offers an approximate structural model of historical influences, beginning with Socrates, branching at Pestolozzi to the influences of Owen, Montessori, Herbart and Hegel, and culminating in the work of Stolz, Taylor, Temple, and Harrison. (RH)

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EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION:

A TRILATERAL UNION

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One of the debates that has raged for years is whether early childhood education is a distinct field, or whether the people in the "field" represent diverse interests, views and disciplines that periodically converge. Thus day care may be more related to child welfare and social service, nursery education more an applied division of child development, and kindergarten more related to formal education.

One of the ways you can test the nature of a field is by determining its roots and traditions. Explore the history of the various fields or subfields of early childhood education from the point of view of determining whether there is indeed support for the notion of a "unified field of early childhood education." Compare and contrast the roots of day care, nursery education and kindergarten to this end.

A profession has been distinguished by Ernest Greenwood as a group which organizes in order to set and enforce standards for professional practice and which regulates the interaction of the professional group with the larger community (In Bowman, 1982). Accordingly, recent efforts toward "professionalization" of the field of early childhood education have underscored the importance of finding and identifying the common ground among early childhood educators working in a variety of settings. An exploration of the historical roots of early childhood education may help us better understand the extent to which today's groundwork represents a field unified in theory and practice. To proceed without this awareness would be to create a ladder such as that described by Gesell which is tall and stout yet fails to reach the ground (in NSSE, 1929).

Early day nursery, kindergarten and nursery school programs in the U.S. were foreshadowed by infant schools, whose goals focused on "one or more of the emotional, intellectual, moral, physical and social capacities of the child" (Greenblatt, 1977). In an effort to improve communities by improving the care and education of young children, Robert Owen initiated children's centers in New Lanark, Scotland in 1816 and in New Harmony, Indiana in 1822 (Carmony and Elliott, 1980). Owen, a mill owner and social reformer, has been dubbed father of the infant school movement (Strickland, 1982). Bronson Alcott had similar aspirations for social reform through young children, but the utopian experiments of both men were short-lived and viewed as too radical for general acceptance during the 1800's. It is important to note, however, that the early infant schools were sponsored by private or philanthropic groups, served children of every economic status, and provided for a wide range of developmental

needs of young children. The concept of the "whole child" was evident in the philosophy of those first American infant schools. The term infant school vanished in the U.S. after 1850, while three successive branches of early childhood education remain identifiable today. Day nurseries, kindergartens and nursery schools provide a rich history of varied sponsorship, philosophical roots, scope of services, staffing, regulation and enrollment. The threads have been laced and knotted over time to give modern early childhood education its texture. This paper focuses on the sponsorship, philosophical roots and scope of services of the early programs within three main areas of society's concern for its youth.

Society's Trilateral Concern for Young Children.

In answer to the question "When did early childhood education really begin?" Osborn (1980) traces the concept of human nurture to early mammals such as the melanodon, circa 180 Million B.C. and tracks child rearing and education from prehistoric times through 1980. This historical perspective reveals three aspects, or threads, which help to define early childhood education as a process reflecting social principles and practices which have evolved in various forms over time. Three distinct areas of social concern emerge, despite considerable overlap in the development of each. Society first showed concern for the physical wellbeing of its young by protecting newborns from their own parents. Emperor Constantine outlawed infanticide in 318 A.D., and group care of abandoned children was recorded in 400 A.D. Foundling homes were established in Europe in the 1700's and 1800's to care for thousands of abandoned children. Despite the influence of Christianity, infanticide was practiced into the 19th Century, and infant mortality rates remained high. Many parents were reluctant to

become attached to their young for fear of probable loss. Society, acting in loco parentis, established public health and welfare agencies to protect its children from physical abuse and neglect. The day nursery or creche, in the U.S. as elsewhere, was an outcome of the industrialization of women's work (Tyson in Greenblatt, 1977), and represented public concern for the protection of young children whose parents were most directly affected by wartime and economic stress. In this paper we will refer generally to this aspect of early childhood education as child care, which encompasses the original day nursery and day care programs.

Society was secondly concerned with training and later the intellectual and moral development of its young. Although formal schooling is recorded as early as the third millenium B.C. based on memorizing and copying script in ancient Mesopotamia, it was limited to a select group--those of the priestly class--and was available to males only. Both Aristotle and Plato advocated education of the child before age six, and Aristotle introduced the idea of individual differences among children. Still, it was not until Friedrich Froebel enunciated Aristotle's paradox of unity among diversity and translated it into curriculum that the seeds of public interest in the interests of young children were sown. These seeds were evident at Keilhau in 1816 with its democratic "Areopagus" and later in Froebel's "Klein Kinderbeschaftlgunganstalt" (little + children + occupation + institution), or Kindergarten as it was called after 1840 (Hewes, 1974). This second branch of early childhood education has maintained the name kindergarten despite varied sponsorship and philosophies influencing programs now as in the past.

Society's third concern was for the emotional and social development of its young, and became apparent during the child study movement of the early 1900's. In America the work of G. Stanley Hall, John Dewey and Arnold Gesell stimulated the child study movement. Gesell noted that the brain "practically reaches its mature bulk before the age of six and that the mind, character and spirit advance more rapidly during the formative preschool period than during any other period of growth" (in Deighton, 1971). Meanwhile, Margaret McMillan had invented the name Nursery-School and opened the first with her sister, Rachel, in England in 1911[1] to add a new dimension to the care and education programs for young children. Margaret McMillan distinguished the nursery school from kindergarten by noting, "the Forster Bill (of 1870) decreed that, sooner or later, every child should learn the three R's. Mr. Fisher's bill decrees that every child shall, sooner or later, have nurture as well as teaching." The two bills were fifty years apart in history, and the additional attention to the health and wellbeing of the child was spurred by the Medical Inspection in 1907 of children in the school system. McMillan's goal was to supercede both kindergartens and neighborhood medical clinics. She pointed out that "in ten years the clinic has not wiped out any disease at all! It has not emptied its own waiting-room!" (McMillan, 1919). She advocated the open-air nursery school as instrumental in initiating better health habits and awareness for mothers and children. The revolutionary Nursery-School envisioned by McMillan offered a scientific pedagogy, a center for research, a training ground for teachers and guidance center for mothers. Based on McMillan's concept of the child's need for nurture, the nursery school provided an appropriate setting for the interdisciplinary study of child development. The first American nursery schools were

sponsored by colleges and universities, and were often associated with departments of home economics, psychology and teacher education (Christianson et al, 1961). More diversified sponsorship and a broader scope of interdisciplinary services followed. In this paper the term nursery school will be used to refer to programs of similar purpose, such as the child development laboratory programs, preschools and parent cooperatives.

Having identified three areas of societal concern which manifest themselves in three general types of early childhood programs or settings, a comparison of the historical development of each is now in order. The history is lengthy and complex, so parameters will be set to include the people and events which have most directly effected the philosophy, sponsorship and scope of services under consideration. A major early childhood education component, the lower primary school (including grades 1, 2, 3) has been omitted here because of its predominently homogeneous development within the public school system (Deighton, 1971). Higher education and training programs are also beyond the scope of this paper.

Historical Roots: Philosophy, Sponsorship, Scope of Services.

Early childhood educators have been influenced indirectly over time by the teachings of the Greek philosophers Socrates, Plato and Aristotle. The more recent and direct philosophical influences of Comenius, Locke, Rousseau, Pestalozzi and Froebel are evident in today's early childhood programs. The flow chart (see Appendix) offers an approximate structural model of these influential relationships over time. Although the relationships are dynamic and multi-dimentional, the linear chart will help clarify basic patterns discussed here. Johann Amos Comenius (1592-1670)

was a Czeck educator whose writings advocated an education designed specifically for children and which would accommodate for individual differences among children. He created the first textbook to contain pictures, Orbis Sensualium Pictus, a multi-lingual picture dictionary. Comenius advocated learning through the senses and the notion of developmental stages, and his writings influenced the work of Dewey, Montessori and Piaget.

> All subjects that are to be learned should be arranged so as to suit the age of the students, that nothing which is beyond their comprehension be given to them to learn. This process begins with the universal and ends with the particular (Comenius, translated by Keating in Golubchick, 1977, p. 58).

John Locke (1632-1704) was an English philosopher with a medical background. He wrote of the nature of the child as inherently good and called attention to the individual differences among children. Locke advocated observation of children so the education program could be tailored to them rather than vice versa. His simile of a child's mind as a blank slate echoed Comenius' comparison of the child's brain to impressionable wax. Thus, both philosophers emphasized the importance of a good parental model.

Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778) also perceived the child's nature as wholesome and good, but apt to be corrupted by adults. Rousseau was a French philosopher whose own childhood and children were unfortunate. His book, Emile, describes a natural method of childrearing based on the protection of children while they "unfold" and move through distinct stages of development. Rousseau's writing advocated observation of the child and his work was precursory to that of Pestalozzi.

The Swiss educator, Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi (1746-1827) put into practice and on display the ideas of Comenius and Rousseau: his methods and materials reflected an appreciation of developmentally appropriate

activities based on the child's experiences. Pestalozzi's expanded curriculum and use of games rather than memorization anticipated the kindergarten movement, and he emphasized the importance of perceptual experience for impression and expression of knowledge. Dewey and Piaget were influenced by Pestalozzi's work, and Froebel worked with him at Neuhof. Perhaps it is also appropriate to point out that one characteristic of Pestalozzi's first experiment in education for the very young has also been recurring since 1780: The "experiment succeeded in helping the children, but failed financially" (Golubchick, 1977), p. 60.

Kindergarten Philosophy.

If you are following the flow chart, you will see that Pestalozzi influenced the work of his German student, Friedrich Froebel. The thread runs from Plato's utopian society to Aristotle's Metaphysics to the dialectic of Hegel to Froebel's Gliedganzes. According to Weber (1969), Froebel's basic ideology is rooted in the "conception of central unity" á la German Transcendentalism. Susan Blow (1913) articulates an aspect of the ideology:

> Science is the answer of man to the suggestion of nature. The two great deeds of science have been the expansion of the universe and its integration. Astronomy has extended the universe in space; geology in time; and biology has made us spectators of that long and painful travail of nature through which humanity was born. While extending the universe, science has also unified it, and her consummate revelation is that of a great interrelated whole wherein 'each clod vibrates with pulsations from the farthest star', and wherein all that is is inextricably linked with all that has been. (P. 179).

Froebel saw the child as inherently good, self-activating rather than passive. He describes the nature of learning as a "process of unfoldment," as a plant grows from within, not without. Froebel recognized the

relationship between sense perception and learning as the child strives to make "the inner outer and the outer inner" (in Weber, 1969). Although Froebel emphasized the importance of play, his explanation of creative self-activity was not clearly defined and was a source of contention for his followers. He acknowledged the personal and social nature of education, and his Gifts and Occupations were meticulously designed and prescribed to promote the child's conception of him/herself in unity with totality. Maria Kraus-Boelte and her husband, John Kraus were ardent supporters of the original Froebelian ideas. Susan Blow was Maria's first apprentice and assistant, and later led the Conservative group. Henry Barnard founded the American Journal of Education; his writings and the joint efforts of Elizabeth Peabody and Mary Mann spread the news of Kindergarten throughout the American educational community. Emma Marwedel studied with Froebel, and together with Kate Douglas Wiggin, Colonel Francis W. Parker and others she was instrumental in establishing kindergarten programs throughout the States. William N. Hailman and his wife, Eudora, devoted their lives to the Froebelian system of kindergarten. The Hailmans and Matilde and Alma Kriege set up training schools for kindergartners, as the early teachers were called. For a more detailed account of the personalities and problems associated with the Froebelian kindergarten movement, see Hewes (1974).

It is ironic that Froebel's kindergarten movement itself was unable to maintain unity. Those who continued to support the original ideas of Froebel despite the changing psychological and educational climate of the early 1900's are considered Traditionalists or Conservatives while those who joined the growing network of the child study movement are referred to as Progressives. John Dewey, G. Stanley Hall, and Arnold GeSell were

especially influential during this period of intense observation and measurement of children's growth, learning patterns and social-emotional development. It was an experimental era which brought the functionalism of John Dewey into conflict with the formalism of Froebel. The Progressive approach to learning was secular, scientific and pragmatic, while the Conservative approach was idealistic, absolutist and introspective. Here we can see the contrast between empiricism and rationalism which has long characterized philosophy and education.

Alice Temple and Col. Parker turned to the progressive movement. Parker encouraged his student, Frances Bullard, toward an experimental kindergarten at the Hampton Institute in 1879, and the program described by Osborn (1980) sounds similar to the nursery schools which would be introduced to America thirty years later. Anna Bryan, a trained Froebelian kindergartner, was also influenced by Dewey and Hall. She disdained Froebel's use of symbolism, pointing out that a ball is more likely to signify motion for the young child than it is unity. Bryan felt that Froebel's logical sequence was merely a mechanical method imposed upon the child, and that the lack of self-determined purpose in the child's activity resulted in "barren, uneducative play" (Weber, 1969). Her student, Patty Smith Hill, was drawn away from the traditional Froebelian practices toward an emphasis on the child's own experiential development. In her position statement included in The Kindergarten (1913) Report of the Committee of Nineteen to the International Kindergarten Union, Hill writes:

> The inability of the child to start from any point other than where he is, makes the use of his experience with all its narrow limitations not only advisable but inevitable. What else can we start with in any true process of development? (P. 249).

The division between the Progressives and Conservatives can be traced to the NEA meeting in St. Paul in 1890 (Hewes, 1974). Weber describes the subsequent rift as irreconcilable:

> A number of fundamentally opposed premises separated these two practices (e.g., Susan Blow's weaving of paper mats vs. Alice Temple's useful doll rugweaving). They represented different beliefs about the nature of the children and contrasting psychological theories. The views were in conflict on such questions as the use of the 'ideal' versus the 'real' in the curriculum, directed play versus free play, logical versus psychological continuity, and the meaning of creative self-activity (1969, P. xiii).

Patty Smith Hill, Anna Bryan and even G. Stanley Hall considered themselves Froebelians (Hewes, 1974) attempting to improve upon his methods. However, the camps were indeed split and few moderates attempted to bridge the gap. Elizabeth Harrison took a moderate stance in her report to the International Kindergarten Union in 1913. Although few of the committee members endorsed her report, Maria Kraus-Boelte signed the reports of both Blow and Harrison, and called Harrison's perspective "truly Froebelian and progressive" (The Kindergarten, 1913), P. 301.

Although many of the original Froebelian principles have survived, the philosophy of kindergarten programs after 1930 reflect progressive influences. They have been characterized by a greater emphasis on nature, home life and the arts. The 1950's brought a new emphasis on academic skills to the kindergarten, accompanied by the addition of reading instruction and academic testing previously reserved for the primary grades. Despite pedagogical differences, the philosophical emphasis of kindergartners has been on the education--the intellectual development--of the young child.

Nursery School Philosophy.

The philosophy of the nursery school movement differed from that of the early kindergartens. The nursery school was founded on the philosophy that young children will develop to their fullest potential when their needs--social and emotional as well as physical and intellectual needs--are met. Programs were based on the McMillan sisters' notion of nurturance and the belief that mothers could parent better if properly guided. Their work was paralleled by that of Maria Montessori in Italy. She, too, was influenced by Edouard Seguin who piloted special education methods in France. The Montessori method was short-lived in America early in this century due to harsh criticism by William Heard Kilpatrick and others, but was revived by the work of Nancy Rambusch in the late 1950's. Today, over 1,000 Montessori schools in the U.S. offer an alternative nursery experience based on sensory education and self-discipline.

Unlike the European nursery schools, American nursery schools were primarily established for demonstrating educational methods and child study rather than for the relief of working mothers and neglected children. Nursery schools fostered cooperation among professional practitioners in medicine, psychology, social work, child development and home economics. The eclectic theoretical base and experimental nature of the nursery school precluded the deep theoretical conflict characterized by the kindergarten movement. The philosophy of the nursery school movement emphasized the importance of synthesizing theory and practice. Stimulated by the child study movement and a new appreciation for parenthood, the movement provided an experimental disposition aimed at finding optimal childrearing and educational practices. The writings of Sigmund Freud stirred concern for the importance of early emotional experiences. G. Stanley Hall and

John Dewey developed a theory of functionalism. E. L. Thorndike's work helped refine Pavlov's associationism, and John B. Watson, Clark Hull and B. F. Skinner explained methodological behaviorism. Dr. Arnold Gesell discussed the maturation of the whole child, and the cognitive-interactionist views of Jean Piaget were translated into English. The theories were merely in need of a testing ground.

Patty Smith Hill, the spirited follower of Dewey and adversary of Susan Blow, not only changed the future of American kindergarten practice but also acted as catalyst in the development of nursery schools. Patty Smith Hill was impressed with the work of Grace Owen (granddaughter of Robert Owen) who was with the McMillan sisters' Nursery-School in England. Hill invited Grace Owen to speak at Columbia Teachers College in 1921 and the College started a nursery school in the same year. Patty Smith Hill was instrumental in networking communications among the nursery school pioneers in America, and she chaired meetings in New York City in 1925 which formed the nucleus of the National Association of Nursery Education (N.A.N.E.), the forerunner of the National Association for the Education of Young Children (N.A.E.Y.C.). She arranged for Abigail Eliot to study with Margaret McMillan in London, and Eliot subsequently transformed a day nursery in Boston into the Ruggles Street Nursery in January, 1922. Edna Noble White visited the McMillans' nursery and returned to Detroit to open a laboratory nursery school for child study in 1922 at the Merrill-Palmer Institute. Harriet Johnson, a trained nurse, opened a nursery school in 1919 at what is now the Bank Street College of Education in New York. Twelve university faculty wives organized the first parent cooperative nursery school in Chicago in 1916 to help provide social experience for their children and parent education and some free time for themselves.

Katherine Whiteside Taylor (1954) describes the subsequent development of parent cooperative nursery groups throughout the country as a creative response to the challenge of parenting. Lucy Gage studied under John Dewey and went to George Peabody College in 1921 to train early childhood teachers in the South. Barbara Greenwood, a former kindergartner, opened a nursery school at U.C.L.A. in 1923, and Rose Alschuler established the first public school nursery in Chicago in 1925. Some nursery schools were opened for the sole purpose of research in child development, and the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial Fund initiated grants in 1923 for research in university based centers.

Thus, although the nursery school emerged from a broader philosophical base than the kindergarten, its basic tenets and practices remained intact through its development. Its philosophy supports nurturance, parent education, research in child development and teacher training, based on the belief that a child's emotional and social needs must be met in addition to his physical and intellectual needs.

Child Care Philosophy.

The first American child care centers were established mid-19th century and were patterned after the French crèche, or day nursery for working mothers. The rationale for such programs was based on relief for working mothers, protection of young children, and assimilation of immigrant children in American society. While the infant schools of the early 1800's had sought to provide both care and education for very young children as a means of social reform, the "day nurseries" were primarily concerned with the sanitation and health of young children whose parents worked. These child care centers of the late 19th century were based on a philosophy of

relief--aid given from outside the family to ease the burden of work and poverty, and aimed at survival. This philosophy of social service based on relief is distinguished from reconstruction, which "comes from within the community when the people involved take up a common cause to improve social conditions" (Woods in Fein and Clarke-Stewart, 1973, p. 16). Settlement house child care was based on the latter notion, while the majority of child care centers maintained a function of social relief. This relief/reconstruction distinction is useful in viewing social welfare programs for children because the balance of responsibility for parenthood--societal versus familial--has been a recurring theme. Society's attitudes toward social services have vascillated with the economics and politics of the 20th century, and this variability has been reflected in the scope of child care services which will be discussed later.

The broad definition of child care as adult care of a child during the absence of the parent helps to include formal and informal arrangements across settings, time and duration of care, and children's ages. However, it is precisely these factors which tend to distinguish child care from other programs for young children. Certainly, the terminology for programs has contributed some confusion and many parents see no difference between a child care center, child development center, preschool, play school, nursery school, day nursery and learning center. For example, the local telephone directory lists these together under the heading "Day Nurseries, Nursery Schools & Kindergartens." Often, clear documentation of the philosophy, scope of services and sponsorship of programs has not been readily available, particularly in the case of proprietary centers (Greenblatt, 1977). Because of their commitment to developmental philosophy

and practice, many child care programs are finally beginning to shake the connotation of mere custodial care; others reinforce the notion of institutional, custodial care because of their adherence to a philosophy of relief. As the number of working mothers has increased from 3½ million in 1947 to nearly 17 million in 1980 (U.S. Department of Labor, 1980), the idea of child care has become generally more acceptable to society. Caldwell and Freyer predict that "by the end of the present decade, what we often disparagingly call 'an alternative child rearing environment'--day care--will be clearly the modal type of early child care" (1982, P. 342).

Kindergarten Sponsorship.

Most kindergartens initially established in America were private, as the very first kindergarten established by Margarethe Schurz in Watertown, Wisconsin in 1856.[2] Schurz introduced the kindergarten to philanthropist Elizabeth Peabody who immediately became an avid supporter and opened the first English speaking kindergarten program in Boston in 1860. Some of the initial kindergartens were church sponsored, others were sponsored by philanthropic groups, and a few were supported by labor unions and private businesses (Spodek, 1982b). In 1873, Susan Blow opened the first public kindergarten in St. Louis with the support of Superintendent William T. Harris. However, kindergartens were not generally accepted into the public primary school system until more than two decades later. Hewes (1974) has divided kindergarten history into three periods: initiation from 1836 to 1874, expansion from 1874 to 1894 and decline from 1894 to 1920. The difficult times were undoubtedly a result of philosophical differences, the emphasis on scientism and the variety of kindergarten sponsors. Spodek (1982a) points out three disadvantages to this wide variety of kindergarten

sponsorship. First, the diversity of sponsors led to confusion between the educational goals of the kindergarten movement and the caregiving function of the many child care programs. Second, the lack of uniform sponsorship often resulted in a lowering of standards of program quality. And third, kindergarten practices usually reflected the individual sponsor's goals rather than a consistent set of program objectives.

A major shift from private sponsorship occurred between 1888 and 1900, and today most kindergarten children are enrolled in programs sponsored by state and local funds administered by local school districts. In 1978, 92% of the children attending kindergarten were enrolled in public programs (Grant in Spodek, 1982b).

Nursery School Sponsorship.

The Margaret McMillan Centre in Deptford was established for the poor based on the notion that average working folks differ from the rich only in income--not in preferences. As the rich man has a library and car, so the poor man wants at least a library near his home and gets around by tram or bus. Likewise, Margaret McMillan argued, the well-to-do mother does not try to provide alone all that her children need. She engages a nurse, perhaps a governess, cook and housemaid to help care for her children. McMillan advocated public sponsorship for nursery for all so that even the poor could provide well for their children.

Most of the initial American nursery schools were sponsored by philanthropic groups, but the sponsorship changed with enrollment and the economy. By 1930, there were at least 250 nursery schools in the U.S. The depression years resulted in an increased nursery enrollment: between 1934 and 1935, over 1900 nursery schools were operating in the States.

Nearly half of these were publicly sponsored by Federal Emergency Relief Administration funds and the remaining 944 were privately sponsored. As the economy improved, the number of nurseries decreased to about 1000 in 1942. The Lanham Act amendments provided for government sponsored centers between 1942 and 1946, but these were generally child care centers staffed in part by those trained in the emergency nursery schools. When the war ended most public funds were withdrawn and the sponsorship of nursery schools shifted again. By 1951, about two thirds of the nursery schools were under proprietary management and the number of laboratory schools almost doubled while the number of philanthropic and publicly supported nurseries decreased dramatically (Greenblatt, 1977). The Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 provided some public money for preschools within the public schools, but large scale attempts at public sponsorship for nursery schools other than Head Start or Title XX programs have been unsuccessful. While most of today's kindergartens are under the auspices of public schools, the majority of nursery schools maintain varied sponsorship among colleges and universities as well as church and proprietary groups.

Child Care Sponsorship.

Society and parents have long wrestled for authority over the education and care of young children in the U.S. Parental responsibility and family privacy have generally prevailed in early childhood education since the School of Infancy upon mother's lap advocated by Comenius in 1623. Strickland (1982) describes "paths not taken" due to society's preference for familial care and fireside education of its young during and since the Jacksonian era. The difficulty of enacting federal child

labor laws earlier in this century provides an example of the sanctity and tenacity of parental authority in the face of public intervention. Until the 1960's, the federal government intervened only during periods of acute economic stress and wartime: As early as the Civil War, federal money provided center care for young children whose mothers worked; the Federal Emergency Relief Administration created nursery schools from 1933 to 1942 to provide jobs during that period of economic depression (Hymes, 1977); and the Lanham Act amendments established public centers in 41 states to care for children of parents working in war-related industries during World War II. However, during the 1960's, unprecedented peacetime legislation provided federal funds for day care and preschool programs. The Public Welfare Amendments of 1962, the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 and Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 signalled a shift in social policy and "represented a major role, Historically unique during periods of normalcy, for the federal government in the rearing and education of very young children . . ." (Greenblatt, 1977), P. 14. The initial Head Start programs were set up as compensatory nursery schools, and later added a day care component.

Sponsorship for child care in America was predominantly philanthropic at the start, with a few instances of employer sponsorship and large-scale public support during times of national crisis. The Lanham centers were established with public funds; most were housed in public school buildings, and parents contributed on a sliding fee scale. Both philanthropic and public support of child care have been associated with social relief, while the child care component of Head Start has been more reconstruction-oriented. By the 1950's, privately sponsored proprietary programs were most common.

Sponsorship can be proprietary or nonprofit. Types of nonprofit sponsoring agencies include churches, government agencies, campus and military organizations. Proprietary care is either individual, small group, or very large scale as a franchise organization or private company with its own branches. Recent tax legislation has made more attractive to employers the possibility of assisting their employees to find and afford child care services. The National Employer-Supported Child Care Project has identified 415 employer-sponsored programs to date, and an estimated 250 hospitals alone are offering direct child care services (Podolner in Friedman, 1982). Still, center care is not as popular as the less expensive informal home care arrangements preferred by parents. Only 10% - 13% of today's young children attend child care centers. The majority are cared for privately by an individual or in family day care homes where one adult cares for up to six children in his/her own home. Only about 6% of these family day care homes are licensed, registered or otherwise regulated (U.S. Dept. of Health and Human Services, 1981). Because parents usually pay child care fees themselves, their choice of care setting may depend as much upon monetary resources available as on the scope of services desired.

Scope of Services.

Sears (1975) chronicles child development and concludes that "the field" was formed by external social pressures. Its content and multi-disciplinary structure, he says, are a product of demands for social usefulness, or relevance. This is true also of early childhood education in general. The scope of services of an early childhood program is often determined by its philosophy and sponsorship, and is a function of the goals and available resources. A few very important factors need a brief

mention here although they will not be discussed within the framework of this paper. The staff characteristics of any early childhood program will certainly help determine a program's scope of services, as will the regulations governing each type of program. Teacher/caregiver preparation and qualifications may vary across settings, but the education and training requirements tend to demand more preparation time for those working in certified educational settings. Likewise, the scope of services will be defined in part by the standards set by the regulating agency. Presently, kindergartens are under the auspices of the state education departments while child care centers and most nursery schools are regulated by state or local health and welfare agencies. In addition, today's programs no longer assume normal intellectual, physical and emotional development for participants. The scope of many programs has expanded to include developmentally delayed and handicapped children. The scope of services of a program can also be measured by such factors as its range of clientele, length of day and type of services offered.

Kindergarten Services.

Kindergarten is "the name usually given to groups for five year old children" (Hymes, 1977). Although the range in ages of children served has diminished somewhat since the first programs, the kindergarten has served an increasing number of children in more ways since its inception. Kindergarten enrollment of five year olds has increased from slightly over 1% in 1900 to slightly over 82% in 1978 (Grant in Spodek, 1982). While initial programs were based strictly on Froebel's curriculum and often served only a fraction of the poor and wealthy children, the scope of programs and services has since expanded. Early sponsorship by a

private group or school district often restricted enrollment to families in affluent areas, but subsequent state and federal support has helped to include children of all economic classes. The child study movement and emphasis on democratic principles early in the 20th Century contributed to a reformed Froebelian curriculum. Children were given more freedom of choice and action, materials were modified to stimulate creative play, and observation of children became the basis for flexible program planning. While the traditional kindergarten program was a half-day morning session lasting through lunchtime, there has been a trend toward full-day kindergarten sessions where school districts are willing to allocate additional funds and in many private kindergartens.

Nursery School Services.

Although the philosophy of the nursery school has remained stable, its scope of services has vascillated somewhat during the past sixty years. While Margaret McMillan advocated nursery school for all children aged 1 to 7 years, the nursery school has generally included children from 2 to 5 years of age in British and American programs. Today, the most common ages are 3 and 4 years for enrollment in nursery school. Clientele has varied as well since the first nurseries were designed to benefit and strengthen poor families. By 1929, approximately one third of the nurseries were housed in colleges and universities and about one half were proprietary schools whose fees indicated a clientele of higher-than-average income. Nursery schools established by the Federal Emergency Relief Administration and Works Progress Administration during the 1930's were designed to help poor families, but actually provided services to middle class families as well as due to the widespread hardship caused by the depression.

Although nursery schools are generally considered half-day programs, the length of program day has varied widely. Three surveys between 1929 and 1932 indicate that approximately half of the nursery schools offered full or nearly full-day programs. A majority of the W.P.A. nurseries offered full-day programs and program services varied across four settings--university laboratory schools, high school laboratories, public elementary schools and community buildings. Again in 1962, federal funds made nursery school available to low-income families. These programs often provide more comprehensive family support services, such as health and nutrition education or home visits, than do private nursery schools. Nursery programs described in the NSSE 28th Yearbook (1929, Pp. 137-238) are representative of the varied services offered then as now, noting the absence of any proprietary program description.

The nursery school first serves the child, and is designed as an extension of the home to provide a nurturing and stimulating environment conducive to optimal development of the whole child. Secondly, the nursery school serves the parent in an interactive and educative capacity. The parent chooses to enroll the child, indicating active parent participation in the total program. Participation varies from informal conferences to full cooperative planning and implementation of sessions. The nursery school still serves as an educational testing ground and training center, and may serve in combination with or as a component of a child care program.

Child Care Services.

The scope of services has varied within and among kindergarten, nursery school and child care programs. According to Greenblatt (1977), misconceptions have resulted from overgeneralizations concerning services

offered and the clientele served, especially during the development of child care programs. Services offered by child care programs are typically categorized either as custodial care, i.e., attending to safety and health of the children in care, or as developmental care which attends to children's social, emotional and intellectual needs as well as to health and safety. While custodial care chiefly benefits the parents by allowing them to participate in the labor force, developmental care is planned to provide recreational and educational benefits to the child. Robins and others (1978) describe custodial care as either work-related or welfare-related. While work-related care is privately sponsored and includes a working-class group, welfare-related care is charitably or publicly sponsored and serves the poor.

We have seen that such broad categorizations seldom hold up over time, particularly during the century between 1860 and 1960. An "educative versus custodial" distinction may be useful when applied to specific program contrasts, but is generally misleading when discussing clientele and sponsorship, especially over long periods of history. For example, the day nurseries of the early 1900's were not generally swayed by the child study movement, and continued to provide social rather than educative service at that time. A few day nurseries were transformed to nursery schools, as Hull House became the Mary Crane Nursery School in Chicago. And yet a broader, more developmental program in child centers has indeed emerged during the past 20 years in those centers committed to providing optimal child care services. General statements about the scope of services must be qualified according to the time period for which they apply. To say that nursery schools have provided educative programs for the rich would

have to be qualified, as would the statement that child care offers custodial service to the poor.

Yet, two fairly safe contrasts can be made between child care programs on one hand and kindergarten and nursery school on the other. The length of program day is usually a "working day" in a child care setting which operates 10 or 12 hours, and sometimes 24 hours daily to accommodate parents' work schedules. Nursery and kindergarten programs, on the other hand, are typically half-day and even the full day programs refer to a "school day" of 6 to 7 hours. It is also possible to contrast the ages of children served. While child care programs enroll children from 6 weeks to over 8 years of age, kindergarten and nursery school each serve children of a much narrower age span. If we include children from birth to 8 years when discussing early childhood education, the child care setting deals most directly with children of these ages.

Conclusion

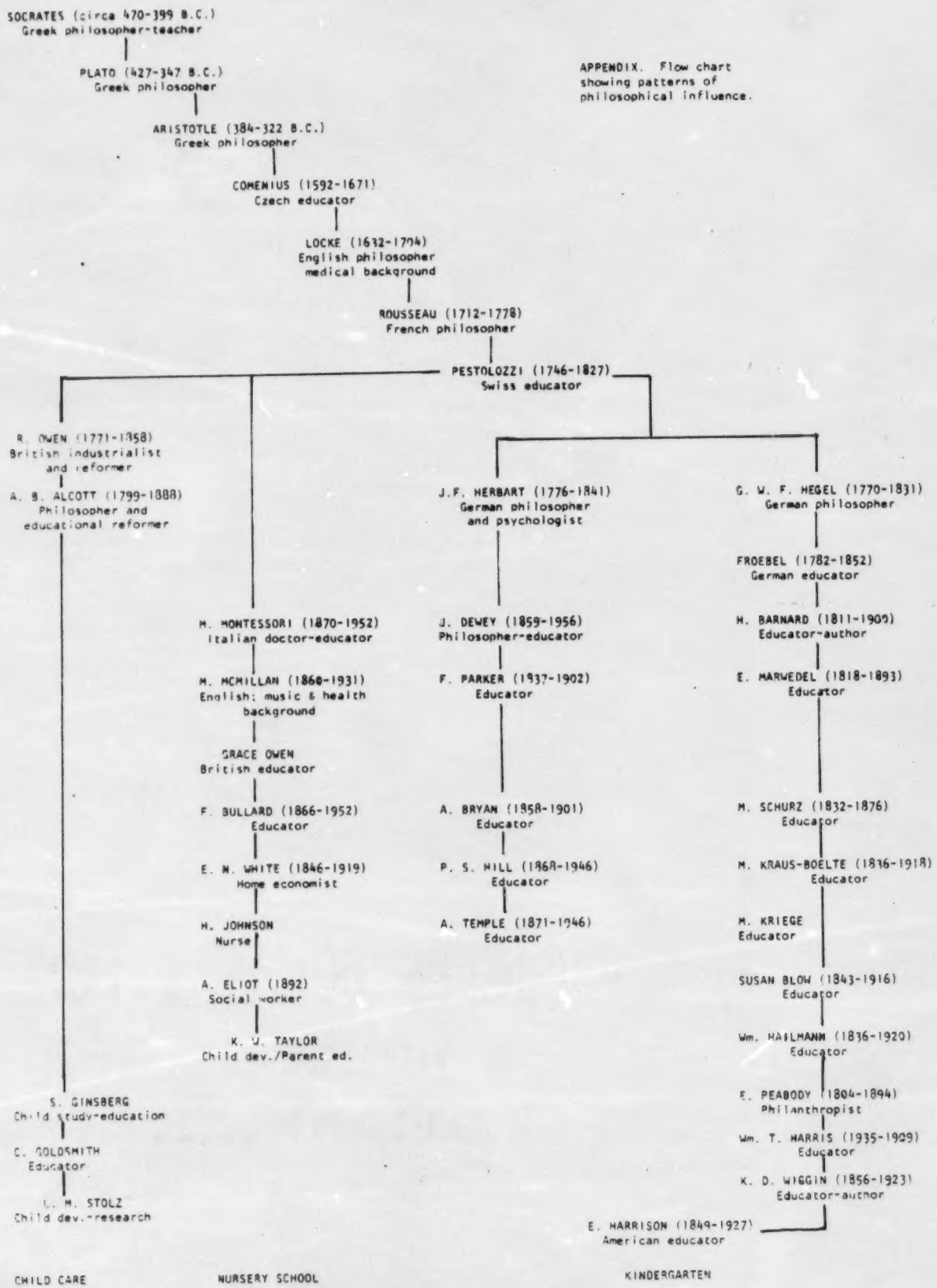
An examination of history within the parameters discussed here shows substantial evidence for the evolution of three distinct forms of public and private early childhood programs. Examined individually, the components of the field of early childhood education are: day care rooted in social services concerned with children's physical wellbeing, kindergarten as it has focused on intellectual and moral development, and nursery education aimed at the social and emotional needs of young children. Looking back, we see three separate threads of societal concern manifested in these programs. The same threads are visible today, but not as loosely woven as in the past. Many children participate in all three types of early childhood programs before primary school entrance. In some areas, all

three programs are offered under the same roof. Caldwell and Freyer (1982) predict that in another decade, based on research and practice, child care will be "conceptually indistinguishable" from other early childhood education programs.

While retrospect helps us know and understand what has been and observation shows us what is, neither tells what will or ought to be. After ten years of experience in primary school, kindergarten, preschool and child care programs, I see early childhood education as both process and profession. I suggest that the development of early childhood education as a unified profession or field of study will progress, as it has in the past, only as rapidly as the professional development within each of its component subfields. Just as the segments of a pinwheel remain indistinguishable from one another while the pinwheel spins, so the separate entities of child care, kindergarten and nursery school seem as one when early childhood education is viewed as a process reflecting social principles and practices which have evolved in various forms over time. Despite the distinct characteristics of each setting and the diversity of principles and practices, perhaps, as Spodek (1982) suggests, early childhood educators can "still accept the idea of Froebel, the importance of unity within diversity." If this is so, it is equally important that we continue to respect diversity within unity.

> One result (of the discussions) was undoubtedly a better understanding among Committee members, not only of working principles and practice, but of one another, and the acquisition of more definiteness in the formulation of ideas and principles. While diversity of opinion undoubtedly existed, there was evident a unity of spirit and a common desire to reach the best and see the best in the work of others.
>
> (Annie Laws, 1919, p. xi)
> Report of the Committee of Nineteen

APPENDIX. Flow chart showing patterns of philosophical influence.



NOTES

1. The founding date of the McMillan sisters' Nursery-School was listed differently in independent sources, varying between 1908 and 1912. Margaret McMillan's account in The Nursery School may help alleviate some of the confusion: "The first open-air Nursery was started years after the Camp school for older children, and both are the result of work done in the school clinic (P. 27) . . . . The clinic we started in 1908 at Bow and removed in 1910 to Deptford has been crowded for ten years with thousands of children suffering from diseases that can easily be wiped out forever (P. 27) . . . . It is nearly 7 years now since we squatted on the Stowage site. It was a big waste of stones, of brickbats and tin cans strewn over an acre of earth . . . . The place was cleared, and Rachel had the first nursery built . . . . Good and gay and spacious, it pleases me to think that her nursery is still the best of all" (P. 347). The reference to Stowage was written for publication of her book in 1919, so a founding date reference to 1911 seems justified.
2. The founding date of the Schurz kindergarten varies in several independent sources. Four of these sources list 1855 as the founding date while another four cite 1856. The most reliable source appears to be H. W. Swart's (1967) biography of Margarethe Schurz, which gives a detailed account of the events surrounding the first American kindergarten. The kindergarten originally conducted by Schurz in her home for four young cousins and her own children was conducted beginning in November, 1956, at her husband's parents' house on Jones and Second Street for friends who wished to enroll their children. The Watertown Historical Society endorses this account.

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